

《論文》

Hidden Biases and Their Influences on Multiple Oppressions Experienced by Non-Japanese Residents in Japan

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Abstract

This pilot research was designed as part of a larger qualitative study to identify possible unconscious biases among a relatively homogeneous population (Japan) toward persons of difference, such as non-Japanese residents in Japan and to consider the impact of those unconscious biases on interactions between Japanese and non-Japanese people. As part of a research survey, participants who also took the Implicit Association Test (IAT), created by Banaji and Greenwald (2013), were asked to comment upon their results. Even though few participants took the IAT, our survey results provided a partial view of unconscious biases Japanese university students have towards people who are visibly different as well as their attitudes towards these biases. It is imperative to understand unconscious biases since by their very nature they are unexamined and can lead to discrimination even in people who consider themselves to be open-minded and free of bias (Banaji & Greenwald). For people who have made their homes in Japan, these unconscious biases can result in increased stress, harming interactions and forming barriers to creating peaceful communities. This is particularly true in the case of non-Japanese women living in Japan, who have experienced biases and discriminatory treatment based on appearance to a greater degree than non-Japanese men. This obstacle to good relations with one group of residents in Japan not only reflects badly on Japanese people, but it also harms feelings of trust and relations within communities in Japan. Good relations in which all community members can interact well are imperative for a healthy society. The results of the survey questions regarding reactions that university students feel they have towards visibly different people showed more adaptability and less fear than the researchers expected. However, additional qualitative research is necessary since there is much anecdotal evidence from non-Japanese residents in Japan who report stressful and traumatic interactions with Japanese people due to unconscious biases. This study was the first part of a qualitative study that aimed to discover the nature of the unconscious biases of Japanese people towards non-Japanese women residents. The purpose in particular focused on piloting questions for a future qualitative study about experiences of non-Japanese women residing in Japan.

This study was funded by a 2019-2020 research grant from Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts.

Overview

As people from all over the world come to Japan for tourism, work and safer lives, it is not unusual to imagine that the experience of hearing different languages and seeing people who look visibly different will increase. A record 31.2 million foreign tourists visited Japan in 2019, and the government aims to increase this number to 40 million by 2020 and 60 million by 2030

(JNTO, 2019). In addition to the record 2.56 million legal long-term foreign residents living in Japan in 2017, in April 2019, the Japanese Ministry of Justice instituted a new visa system that will allow 340,000 blue-collar workers with certain professional skills to come to Japan for a period of five years over the next five years. More controversially, tensions with and within China threaten to increase the number of refugees applying for asylum in Japan.

Japanese people of the Reiwa Era live in a world where they have to work in their community or company with someone who has a different culture. How do they react when they suddenly encounter people they never imagined speaking to before? What is the reaction of the student working part-time in a cafe who suddenly has to take the order of someone who does not speak Japanese? How would the employee of a Japanese company react when her coworker refuses to eat the obento containing meat? What does the makeup store clerk in a Japanese department store say to the customer who asks if they sell cosmetics for dark-skinned women?

Until recently, these questions were unimaginable in Japan. However, as more migrants arrive in Japan, the unimaginable has become real. Yet many non-Japanese residents who have accents or who look visibly different are encountering baffled and uncomfortable Japanese people. Newspapers and the Internet are filled with articles about migrants to Japan, where they are largely placed into one of three categories: “immigrant” “nationality” or “worker.” Few studies look at migrants in Japan as a diverse group, and fewer still examine non-Japanese women. This is a significant omission since research has shown that men and women from the same identity groups have different experiences. Women in Japan have especially been shown to experience multiple oppressions based on gender, ethnicity, age, and other affiliations (IMADR, 2009; IMADR, 2016). Many non-Japanese women have stories different from non-Japanese men of a visibly different body part being commented upon by a Japanese person. Some laugh at such a seemingly insignificant experience. However, human interactions can cause a significant amount of stress when a single incident or negative comment breaks down a person’s self-esteem and negatively upsets their social functioning (Clarke, 1998; Cho, et al., 2018; Rumsey, Clarke, White, Wyn-Williams, & Garlick, 2004). In the case of non-Japanese women, it can also cause them to think negatively of Japanese people. As in many countries, today’s Japanese society values beauty and tends to mock or denigrate those who are viewed as less than attractive or whose appearances are too different from the norm. Ross (2014) and Banaji and Greenwald (2013) explain that everyone has hidden biases. However, Japan is well-known for being a country not very accepting of people who are different. Many Japanese people follow or fear the Japanese saying “The nail that sticks up gets hammered down.” This emphasis on being the same causes problems of cultural and social adjustment, discrimination, stigma, and loss of self-esteem for those who are visibly different, such as many non-Japanese women. Based on this knowledge, it is necessary to examine migrants in Japan from diverse perspectives. This study was the first part of a qualitative study that aimed to discover the

nature of the unconscious biases of Japanese people towards non-Japanese women residents. The purpose in particular focused on piloting questions for a future qualitative study about experiences of non-Japanese women residing in Japan.

Literature Review

Ross (2014) points out that being biased is to be human. He contends that bias is a human reaction to fear and details the role that unconscious biases play in perpetuating discrimination and exclusion. This has led to conflicts and social unrest despite increased efforts to combat discriminatory behavior and create more inclusive workplaces and societies. Even when people do not mean to harm others, the resulting hurt of biases is often just as damaging as deliberate actions resulting from bias (Ross, 2014). They impact every aspect of our lives, influencing how we see everyday interactions at work and in communities and perceive and respond to threats. They affect who is hired, how teachers educate students, and how parents and children treat each other. Raising the unconscious to consciousness can aid in preventing us from reacting in fear (Ross, 2014). Understanding how bias works can lead to reducing the effects it has on our everyday lives and facilitates more conscious efforts to have more productive and successful interactions.

Banaji and Greenwald (2013) explain that unconscious biases are the result of deep-seated stereotypes, the result of ingrained habits of thought, which they call *mindbugs*, that cause us to make errors in perceptions and decisions (p. 5). They point out that the mind works automatically, unconsciously and unintentionally after grasping whatever information is immediately available. Economists, sociologists, and psychologists have proven that stereotypes based on social group membership cause people to be treated differently from those belonging to the mainstream group. These stereotypes are often based on identity factors such as age, disability, ethnicity, gender, physical attractiveness, profession, religion, and socioeconomic class, to name a few. Social *mindbugs* often lead to negative stereotypes and discrimination of those viewed by others. However, Banaji and Greenwald (2013) state that stereotypes can negatively affect self-perceptions and actions towards oneself as well. In this case, the person suffering from discrimination may internalize negative stereotypes and be less motivated to attempt to improve their life.

Automation of Thought

Banaji and Greenwald (2013) summarize the two systems that the mind uses, reflection and automation, as follows: reflection is when people use the mind to think of things consciously, and automation refers to what we have a feeling about or implicitly know about; in other words, what we find difficult to explain the reasons for. The automatic system can sometimes be entirely at odds with our conscious intentions. An automatic preference based on color, shape or

style may influence us to make unconscious decisions that are hard to explain because they are impervious to inquiries of conscious motivation. However, automatic preferences also act to steer us through challenging situations by turning us away from dissonance-generating situations before we become consciously aware of our mental discomfort.

Categories

In explaining how *mindbugs* might lead to negative views of membership in marginalized groups, Banaji and Greenwald (2013) point to the human mind's innate desire to form categories. Years of experience that cannot be set aside cause the brain to sort items and people into categories. Without conscious thought, people may use a stereotype as a beginning point of viewing a person. These might be all right when meeting someone for the first time. However, categories often lead to stereotypes about members of an entire group. Moreover, categories are mentally linked by shared goodness or badness. When two categories cannot be linked, creating associations between the categories becomes challenging. This is the main principle behind the Implicit Association Test (IAT) created by Banaji and Greenwald (2013). By choosing association, likes, and dislikes, of links between identity factors and descriptions quickly, researchers can discern the level of discomfort participants feel towards the linking of the two categories.

Automatic responses experienced while doing the tests can be disturbing when results show a test-taker to have a bias when they were certain they did not. Banaji and Greenwald had firsthand experience of shock when they repeatedly discovered their own biases after taking the IAT for race (Banaji and Greenwald, 2013). The IATs have been designed to measure dissociation. According to Banaji and Greenwald (2013), "Dissociation is the occurrence, in one and the same mind, of mutually inconsistent ideas that remain isolated from one another," (pp. 57-58). It is the mutual inconsistencies between conscious and unconscious or reflective and automatic. The resulting uncomfortable mental state caused by dissociation violates peace of mind. This is partly due to the fact that humans believe they should have control and access to what is in their minds. However, experts agree that people have very little ability to access many parts of the mind consciously. When there is dissociation between conscious and unconscious thoughts, it can create much stress. Banaji and Greenwald give the example of laughing at an ethnic joke all the while realizing it is inappropriate and feeling guilty for laughing.

A culturally-learned value or belief is often the culprit of automatic responses. Whether we want it or not, we absorb cultural attitudes and norms while growing up. Even when we are aware of our conscious preference for accepting differences, it seems almost impossible to resist the pull towards culturally rooted stereotypes (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). However, studies have found that one way members of marginalized groups have managed to achieve harmony

between reflective and automatic dissonance is simply by not allowing a category label to apply to themselves. For example, an elderly person who has an automatic preference for youth might obtain harmonious resolution by refusing to accept the label “Elderly”.

Appearances

Appearance is an obvious way in which people are categorized and labeled by others (Skeggs, 2001; Frith, 2012). Skeggs (2001) points out that categories and labels rely on ways others identify them as “something or someone” according to the viewer’s cultural interpretations and meanings. Because of this, there can be misinterpretations leading to the person feeling hurt from being misidentified or not valued as a person. According to Changing Faces (2008) survey results, many respondents had a bias towards people who looked visually different. Research has shown that people put more space between themselves and those with visible differences and are less willing to help them (Changing Faces, 2008). This is evidence of the way unconsciously placing visibly different individuals into categories can negatively influence behaviors.

Banaji and Greenwald (2013) point out that for most people, it is impossible to form a mental image of a person without attributing a female or male gender, age and race to them upon a first meeting. This is likely because these are characteristics seen, heard, and read about in mass media. Moreover, people use visual cues such as clothing, cosmetics, and behavior to signal they belong to certain categories. Banaji and Greenwald explain that five identifiers are almost always immediately noticed: sex, age, race, height, and weight. Clothing may help observers add other identifiers since dress often indicates things such as income, social class, religion, ethnicity, and occupation. However, members of often-stigmatized groups sometimes choose to hide their membership by disguising their age, ethnicity or religion (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). On the other hand, Banaji and Greenwald argue that stereotypes can have a useful purpose when someone belongs to groups with several stereotypic traits. A person who belongs to many distinct categories of people can portray their distinct individuality with their rich identity.

Falvey (2012) describes appearance as cultural symbols to which people attribute meaning. Ideas of beauty and standards of appearances are judged based on culture. They are cultural variables because appearance design, including rituals such as grooming, styling, and make up, reflect learned patterns that can change over time. However, globalization, increased media exposure, and transnational mobility have become factors that can explain why different cultures show striking similarities on sought-after traits of attractiveness. On the contrary, Falvey and others point out the necessity to be careful when studying body image and its relation to cultural factors since most studies related to body images and appearance have been conducted by researchers in Western societies.

Naqvi and Saul (2012) point out that people make unconscious and mistaken assumptions

about individual's appearances, and thus group membership, based on visual signs such as skin tone and facial features. Historically, many cultures attribute light skin color with positive social and cultural distinctions. These visual signs can manifest in unconscious biases and behavior (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013).

Body images and their links to standards of appearance, however, may lead to marginalizing policies and stereotypes. One example is ideas of Body Mass Index (BMI). BMI may seem to be a scientific indicator of a person's physical wellbeing; however, it has been shown to be an indicator of unconscious biases. BMI is not a biological influence, but a cultural disparagement of fat that creates the idea that BMI is an authoritative indicator, resulting in dissatisfaction felt by individuals due to negatively regarded higher BMI scores (Smolack, 2012). Falvey (2012) gave the example of how BMIs of an Asian population of Chinese migrant men and women in the United States had a higher percentage of upper-body fat compared to white European females who had a higher percentage of lower-body fat. Differences such as these can be seen in evidence that different cultures use different standards for judging body and facial attractiveness that may be regarded as more important in many cultures (Falvey).

Thompson (2012) points out that most research on dissatisfaction with appearance amongst individuals with obvious physical differences, due to weight and shape as well as disfigurements, has focused on levels of stress, anxiety, depression, and avoidance on the part of the individual with the visible difference. Research shows that appearance plays a role in how we view others and how we judge ourselves. This impacts social interactions as well as individual wellbeing (Thompson, 2012). Objectification and self-objectification, viewing an individual's appearance as an object, are especially prevalent due to media influences. These can be linked to body shame and social anxiety. Sexual harassment is associated with consciousness and low esteem in women and girls. Smolack (2012) explains that the majority of high school girls in the US have experienced sexual harassment at some time in their short lives. Research shows that sexual harassment may be related to objectification of girls and women (Jeffreys, 2015). This may be why girls and women interpret sexual harassment differently than boys and men.

Americans predominantly have a stereotype that "beauty is good" (Smolack, 2012). Even early childhood studies have linked physical attractiveness of female characters portrayed in children's books with positive adjectives such as kindness and happiness (Smolack). In a similar way, studies have shown that many girls associate thinness with being happier and more successful, showing how girls often internalize the social ideal of beauty and thinness. However, studies have also shown that this ideal is not necessarily true outside the United States, or even among all identity groups in the United States. African American adolescents favored a larger ideal body size, and adolescent girls in countries such as Australia and Korea also showed that American ideal of thinness equaling beauty were not the same (Smolack, 2012).

Japanese have been shown to have similar ideas of beauty for women as Americans. Kittaka

(2016) conducted an informal survey and found that many non-Japanese women living in Japan had experienced lowered self-esteem about their bodies since coming to Japan. Survey respondents mentioned disturbing Japanese TV programs showing overweight Japanese entertainers being made fun of and finding it difficult to find clothing for curvier or larger women in stores. Women with different body shapes described receiving unwanted attention and unsolicited comments about their bodies to such an extent that their self-confidence suffered. According to respondents in Kittaka's study, stereotypes and biases of healthcare professionals even have attempted to force non-Japanese women to fit the Japanese mold of body shape, such as BMI, raising the question of how healthy living in Japan is for migrant women who have non-Japanese-standard body shapes.

Methods

The researchers collected survey data by convenience sampling at their respective tertiary educational institutions, a women's college of liberal arts and a coeducational university; both establishments are part of the same privately-owned educational foundation. Participants' ages ranged from late teens to early 20s, and all were undergraduates.

The surveys, which had been translated into Japanese, were accessible online through Survey Monkey. Students who agreed to take part in the project completed surveys in class or accessed them as a result of notices on the project that had been distributed via the university's emailing system. There were 23 questions in the survey, the majority of which required a Likert-scale response, but some questions requested additional comments. Questions 1 through 8 established biographical background and directed participants to select and attempt a Harvard Implicit Association Test in either English or Japanese; in Questions 9–13 they were asked to report on and discuss their results. Later questions asked participants about their reactions to encounters to people whose appearance was different from their own.

Even though a survey was used, the purpose was not to gather quantitative data, but to identify ways that Japanese young people view people who are obviously different in Japan. As Jansen (2010) explains, qualitative types of survey do not aim to count the frequencies of occurrences, but to inquire into the meaning when variations do occur within a population.

Furthermore, Jansen (2010) explains how qualitative versus quantitative survey results is in the way the data is analyzed rather than the way it is collected. Qualitative surveys are characterized by focusing on study participants and describing their answers to examine the relevance and similarities and difference of members of a population rather than counting the frequency of occurrences.

Results

The researchers received a total of 70 responses to the survey, 35 of which were complete.

Unsurprisingly, since one of the sites was a women's college, the majority of participants identified as female (56), 6 were male and 2 respondents preferred not to identify their gender; in addition, participants identified almost wholly as ethnically Japanese (62 participants) with only one participant identifying as Korean. The majority of respondents were either first year or second year students.

Responses to the request to complete an initial Implicit Association Test in Japanese were low (approximately a 30% response rate, primarily for tests on Gender [13 responses], Weight [12 responses], Skin Tone [10 responses] and Race [8 responses]). This was largely due to the unanticipated fact that the IAT required participants to use a computer, whereas the Survey Monkey survey only required the use of a smartphone, endemic to almost all Japanese students. Unlike students in North America and Europe, Japanese students do not generally carry notebook computers with them as part of their necessary college equipment, nor do classrooms necessarily include Wi-Fi. Laboratories equipped with fixed desktop computers need to be reserved before they are planned to be used and were not easily available to the researchers. Therefore, results that were received can be said to be incomplete, in that they included both data that was completed with IAT and without IAT. IAT results were emailed directly to one of the researchers.

There were 10 comments from participants on their experiences of doing the IAT, which indicated that for some students, there was a certain degree of revelation, with answers such as "I was able to understand my own thought," "I have never thought of how such impressions are related to words that we use. It was a new perspective," "I have thought I do not have different impressions toward black and white people, but I was surprised to see a huge gap between the test results and (my thought)"; for others, there was a degree of uncertainty about how to answer, "I answered the questions based on general knowledge and understanding rather than my own views," "Because it was the first time to take the test, I still cannot comprehend the situation," "The test method was unexpected, and I took it for the first time, so I was not able to comprehend it." Technical mistakes, such as pressing the space bar repeatedly, were noted by one participant; another felt stressed by the limited amount of time permitted for choosing responses, although this is part of the design of the test. 44.44% of respondents were satisfied that their test results were "fairly accurate" (only 2.78% were satisfied that the results were "completely accurate") and a substantial 36.11% of respondents were undecided about the IAT (see Fig. 1). Whether the participants were satisfied with their results was investigated again in Question 13, with similar responses (47.22% agreed, 33.33% were undecided).

Questions 14-23 focused on how participants reacted to persons of difference, namely which characteristics caught their attention, and whether they would interact or engage with persons of difference. Language, body size/shape, behavior and clothing/fashion, gender, facial features, and opinions/ideas were strongly or fairly strongly noticed. One participant's comment was

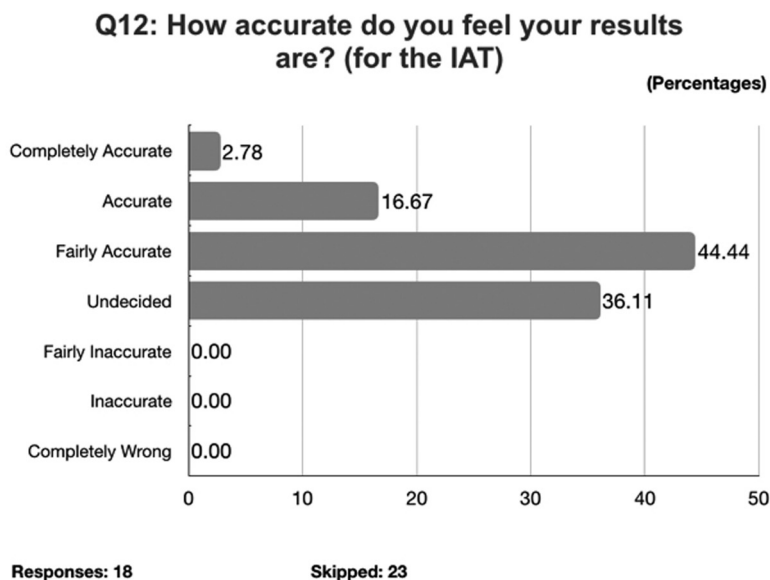


Figure 1. Results for the question “How accurate do you feel your results are?”.

particularly interesting in this regard: he or she paid “careful attention to things that I don’t have such as others’ ideas, senses and how they perceive things, but not to things that are innate.” Perhaps supporting this are the reactions to skin and hair color, which received a somewhat even spread of reactions from “don’t notice” to “moderately noticed”. One may surmise that at least as far as hair color is concerned, there are a variety of choices of hair coloring products available today, so participants might not pay attention to this factor. As for skin color, perhaps certain participants have indeed internalized Dr. King’s “dream” not to judge others by this, but rather “by the content of their character;” (25% of participants answered that they rarely noticed skin color, but a further 25% of participants answered ‘fairly strongly noticed’ this.)

Respondents were somewhat hesitant about speaking actively to persons of difference (47.22% said they would “sometimes” engage, although 30.56% said that “usually” they would engage; the same percentage said that they would “sometimes” avoid persons of difference, although 44.44% “rarely” engaged in avoidance). When the question was rephrased regarding how participants might react in an alternative scenario (Q. 18: When a person who looks different from you approaches you, how would you welcome them?) responses were more positive: participants said that they would welcome the approach (50% of participants responded “usually”, 22.22% said “always,” while 30.56% opted for a more neutral “sometimes”). When the question was restated, 54.29% of respondents reaffirmed that they would “rarely” avoid the approach of a person of difference. Thus, it seems that while active engagement poses a challenge, participants were in general willing to welcome or aid a person of difference who

might wish or need to interact with them.

As the survey progressed, so did participants' apparent willingness to respond positively and actively to persons of difference. To the scenario of how they might react in an encounter with a person of difference (Question 20), 66.67% of respondents (24 people) selected "Try to talk to them". However, 11 respondents (30.56%) remained reserved and chose "watch them from a distance".

Question 21 asked participants "If you were on a hiring committee, how likely is it that you would hire someone who has a different religion, sexuality, ethnicity, values, etc. from you?". Responses were surprisingly positive: 25.71% (9 people) said "very likely"; 34.29% (12 people) chose "likely" and a further 34.29% of respondents selected "neither likely nor unlikely." Question 22 asked participants for comments on their response to Question 21 and elicited a number of reflections indicating lack of bias, such as "First of all, each person is different. Because I don't think we should bring personal reasons when it comes to hiring," "I would not choose to not hire someone because of the differences because I believe new ideas would come out because of those differences" and "I don't mind if appearance is different because the important thing is inside."

Finally, Question 23 asked for participants' comments on gender and difference, namely "women who appear different". Two respondents noted that it might be hard for such women to live in Japan "because Japanese people tend to avoid people with different appearances and religions," and another respondent commented "They may be suffering from discriminatory and objectified lenses that people have when they look at them," but certain other opinions were voiced. "I would imagine them to be strong and have the ability to express themselves. I admire them," answered one respondent, while another respondent rejected the question entirely: "Each person is completely different. Therefore, 'different' women do not exist." A further participant queried the question "Is this about ethnicity or sexuality? In Japan, even Japanese people who are 'different' can stand out," and in fact was positive about difference per se, adding, "many people in younger generations tend to see the difference in a positive light. At least people around me think 'being different from others' is 'cool' and I want to be that way." These comments suggest that to a certain extent, the younger generation of Japanese are more constructive about diversity and difference.

Discussion

Banaji and Greenwald's Implicit Association Tests are a type of intervention to create self-awareness in test-takers with the hope that participants will be motivated to adjust their behaviors based on increased awareness. However, some drawbacks became apparent as the result of our study. The first shortcoming was the IAT's reliance on use of computer keyboards to take the test. As mentioned previously, in a culture so reliant on smartphones to the neglect

of computers, most survey participants in our study could not, or gave up on, doing the IAT portion. We concluded that in a more formal study in the future, it will be necessary to take them to a computer room for them to be able to do the IAT since the current test on the Harvard Internet server cannot be done on a smartphone. Kahn's (2018) criticism of the IAT as a kind of inexpensive recreational form of self-improvement attempt at anti-racism may have merit, but the inability of Japanese students to easily take the tests were a major obstacle to using the IAT as a tool to examine unconscious biases. Another discrepancy we encountered was related to language and culture. We felt that the Japanese translation of the instructions were unclear, and only four IATs are available for testing in Japanese. This brings up the question of whether the IATs were transposed from the original into different languages without testing to see if they are applicable to those from the cultures represented by the languages or whether the IAT themselves are culturally biased. We felt that they were somewhat culturally biased. Harcourt and Rumsey (2012) call attention to the fact that interventions that have been developed in one country or culture may not be feasible or work well in other countries. Often it is necessary to adapt and re-evaluate an intervention for use with a different population. Likewise, when designing interventions, it is important to avoid stigmatizing those who hold negative attitudes towards themselves or alienating those who have biases towards persons whose appearance does not meet societal ideals. Meanwhile appearance-related concerns do not disappear and may even become more serious. However, one of the first steps is to identify some of the complexities regarding biases towards those with visibly different appearances and experiences.

Despite complications surrounding the IAT, our overall survey results provided a partial view of unconscious biases and attitudes Japanese university students have towards non-Japanese women in Japan. The results of the survey questions regarding reactions that university students feel they have towards visibly different people showed more adaptability and less fear than we expected. Whether the participants truly conduct themselves the way they think they would or not, the fact they were open to the possibilities of interacting with people they do not know and believe they would be open is significant. Most respondents said they always, usually or sometimes welcome people who look different and approach them. Over half also answered that they would engage or speak to someone who is different rather than avoid them (shown from questions 18 responses of welcoming obviously different people and question 17 responses of not avoiding them). This was different from the researchers' own experiences such as having restaurant staff afraid to approach them because they look different from them.

However, their responses as young people can also be perceived to be an example of the phenomenon discussed by Banaji and Greenwald (2013) whereby the younger generation seem to show less bias, at least regarding race. It can also be viewed as support for the study

conducted with Japanese university students by Rogers and Lee (2017) which showed participants to be less afraid of uncertainty than most previous research on uncertainty avoidance for Japanese people. Classic studies show Japanese people to be very strongly averse to uncertain situations and people; however, Rogers and Lee's 2017 research showed Japanese students they studied to be much less averse to uncertainty. This does not mean that Japanese students are entirely averse to uncertainty, however. In spite of students responding that they would engage or approach someone who is obviously different (questions 17 and 18), results for Question 20, (What is your first reaction to differences you notice other people have?), over 65% said they would observe them from a distance before approaching them or taking any other action.

On the other hand, other responses may suggest that the younger generation of Japanese may prove to be more open to working with persons of difference than currently occurs. Responses and comments by students to Question 21 asking participants to imagine themselves on a hiring committee; would they be likely to hire persons of difference and Question 23 asking for participants' comments on gender and difference, namely "women who appear different," show that younger Japanese may be more accepting of diversity and obvious differences. For Question 21, many participants answered that they were likely to hire someone different from themselves. This is different from most research which shows that there is a real tendency for members of hiring committees to hire candidates like themselves, no matter how competent the candidate is (Rivera, 2012). This is also contrary to researchers' own experience of the hiring process.

Another concern is that some attitudes of participants in this study showed some naivete concerning diversity. Questions asked about individual feelings and reactions towards others. These are not common conversation topics in Japan; thus, it may have influenced many to not think of the influence of individual behavior on communities or society. Even though many responded that they would approach those different to themselves, personal experiences of non-Japanese women in Japan show this to not be entirely true. Moreover, one participant who commented to the effect that "women are not the only ones who are different because everyone is different" is another variation of lumping everyone into one category and not seeing them as individuals. Viewing everyone as the same or viewing everyone as different without acknowledging them as individuals who deserve respect for their complexity can both result in prejudice and discrimination.

In this context, the researchers have had numerous personal experiences of encounters, such as with store personnel (for example cashiers in convenience store employees) who literally shake with fear at the sight of the non-Japanese customer until partially reassured by the customer's use of the Japanese language. The well-known "gaijin seat" on trains whereby fellow passengers avoid encounters with a non-Japanese person by refusing to sit next to them is still

common as well (McNeil, 2018). More serious are the encounters with unhelpful health care personnel, from nurses and medical technicians to physicians; the researchers have had experience of care being refused on grounds of physical differences and hospital equipment (such as MRA machines or mammograms) being designed only for Japanese-sized bodies.

Unconscious biases by members of support and service jobs can especially have implications for non-Japanese women living in Japan. The Japanese population has one of the lowest BMI averages in the world. The Japanese government made international headlines in 2008 when it passed a legal guideline dubbed the “Metabo Law” to strongly encourage people between the ages of 45 and 74 to have their waistlines measured once a year to determine their potential risk of heart disease, diabetes and other illnesses associated with obesity. The guideline also fines companies that have workers over the government designated BMI (Onishi, 2008; Lacapria, & Mikkelson, 2015; Keyes, 2019). However, Keyes (2019) relates the story of being plus-size, and of a Japanese doctor telling her she was at risk of getting diabetes and heart-related disease. Not long afterwards a doctor in Canada told her that she was perfectly average and healthy by Canadian standards. Incidents such as these point out that Japanese people have unconscious biases which show in official policies, such as healthcare, and their behavior which in turn creates unnecessary stress and negative feelings in Japanese communities.

Finally, it goes without saying that this is a very limited, under-resourced pilot study. Further research with a larger and wider pool of respondents of different ages is necessary to bolster the data gathered so far, and strategies must be employed to encourage participants to attempt the IATs, or a more culturally appropriate, cellphone-friendly selection of IATs must be prepared to accommodate current test-taking trends and preferences in Japan.

Moreover, additional research, particularly outside Western cultures, is necessary to understand appearance concerns, such as objectification (Thompson, 2012). Since appearance is a key element of initial interactions, it is important to understand biases related to appearance. In addition, due to relationships between people in society somewhat dependent upon biases and because behaviors influence interactions, it is necessary to conduct more studies about those whose unconscious biases might be causing stress in those who are visually different.

Conclusion

This pilot study was designed as part of a larger research project to identify possible unconscious biases among a relatively homogeneous population (Japan) toward persons of difference, such as non-Japanese resident women in Japan, and to consider the impacts of those unconscious biases on interactions between Japanese and non-Japanese. A further study intends to analyze the impact on non-Japanese women specifically, focusing on a gender component. The next phase will also include a comparative aspect to study reactions to participants

discovering they have unconscious bases. It will include examinations of individuals in non-Japanese multicultural settings and compare them with Japanese raised in a relatively monocultural setting, to discover whether members of these cultures also experience surprise or guilt as a reaction to results that indicate unconscious bias. It is imperative to understand unconscious biases since they are unexamined and can lead to discrimination (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). For people who have made their homes in Japan, these unconscious biases can harm interactions and form barriers to peaceful communities. They can result in increased stress, particularly for non-Japanese women in Japan, who have experienced biases and discriminatory treatment as women and based on appearance to a greater degree than non-Japanese males. This obstacle to good relations of one group of residents in Japan not only reflects badly on Japanese people, but it also damages trust and relations within communities in Japan. Good relations in which all community members can interact well are imperative for healthy societies.

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Keywords : unconscious bias, non-Japanese, residents, appearance, stereotypes

Appendix A

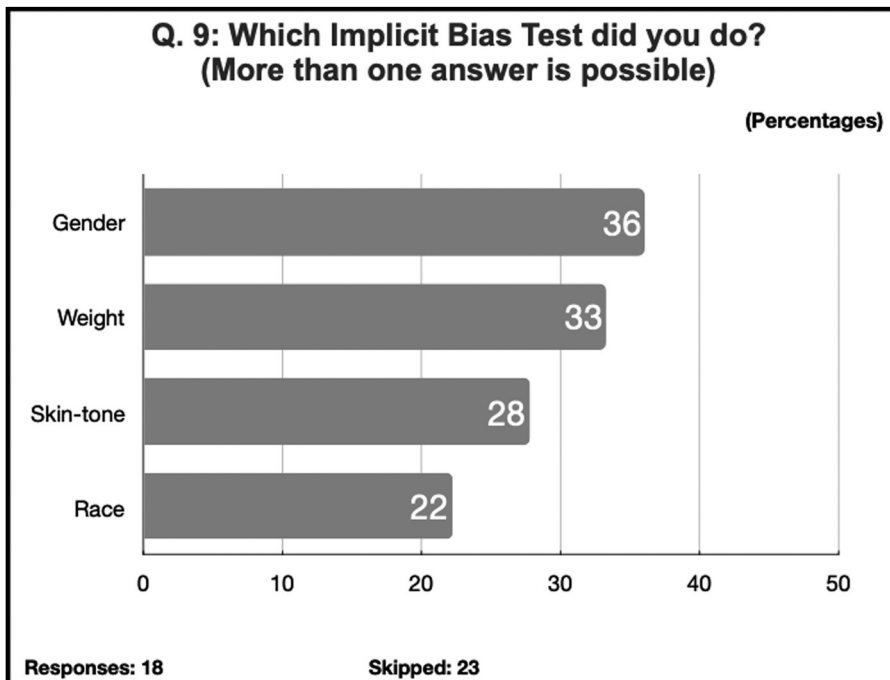
Implicit Attitude Tests available in English with those translated into Japanese circled. Note the Japanese IAT only has one “Gender” test and a “Skin Tone” instead of the “Gender-Career”, “Gender-Science” and “Asian” IATs available in English.

Project Implicit®

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- Disability IAT** *Disability ('Disabled - Able' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to recognize symbols representing abled and disabled individuals.
- Gender-Career IAT** *Gender - Career.* This IAT often reveals a relative link between family and females and between career and males.
- Age IAT** *Age ('Young - Old' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to distinguish old from young faces. This test often indicates that Americans have automatic preference for young over old.
- Weight IAT** *Weight ('Fat - Thin' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to distinguish faces of people who are obese and people who are thin. It often reveals an automatic preference for thin people relative to fat people.
- Religion IAT** *Religion ('Religions' IAT).* This IAT requires some familiarity with religious terms from various world religions.
- Gender-Science IAT** *Gender - Science.* This IAT often reveals a relative link between liberal arts and females and between science and males.
- Asian IAT** *Asian American ('Asian - European American' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to recognize White and Asian-American faces, and images of places that are either American or Foreign in origin.
- Race IAT** *Race ('Black - White' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to distinguish faces of European and African origin. It indicates that most Americans have an automatic preference for white over black.
- Sexuality IAT** *Sexuality ('Gay - Straight' IAT).* This IAT requires the ability to distinguish words and symbols representing gay and straight people. It often reveals an automatic preference for straight relative to gay people.

IAT tests study participants were asked to choose from and which they chose.



Appendix B

Actual questions asked to participants, excluding questions about personal information such as gender, age, university and so on.

第一部

ハーバード大学などが率いるのプロジェクト・インプリシットが開発した Implicit Association Test (略して IAT) を受けて下さい。IAT へは、次の URL からアクセスして下さい。

<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/japan/takeatest.html>

以下のように、ウェブサイトではいくつかのテストがありますが、一つのテストを選んで受けて下さい。テスト終了後、研究者にテスト結果画面の写真、または印刷したページを提出し、引き続き残りの質問に答えて下さい。

ジェンダー (「ジェンダー」- 「科学」 IAT)
体重 (「太った人」- 「やせた人」 IAT)
肌の色 (「明るい肌の色」- 「暗い肌の色」 IAT)
人種 (「黒人」- 「白人」 IAT)

9. 次の中からどのテストを受けましたか。(全て選択して下さい。)

ジェンダー
体重
肌の色
人種

10. テストを受けてみて、どのような印象をお持ちですか？

主に好印象
主に悪印象
どちらでもない
その他(詳しく教えてください)

11. 差し支えがなければ、質問9の回答の理由を教えてください

12. あなたのテスト結果がどれくらい正しいと思いますか？

完全に正確 正確 ほとんど正確 わからない ほとんど不正確 不正確 完全に不正確

13. あなたのテスト結果に賛成できると感じますか？

強く賛成 賛成 わからない 不賛成 強く不賛成
その他(詳しく教えてください)

第二部

以下のような状況にいる時、あなたはどの程度で次のような行動や感情を示すか教えてください。

14. あなたはどのくらい他の人の次の特徴に気づきますか？

重要性(0 「意識しない」 から5 「強く意識する」)

話す時のアクセント 0 1 2 3 4 5
言葉使い 0 1 2 3 4 5

身体の形や大きさ	0 1 2 3 4 5
年齢	0 1 2 3 4 5
行動	0 1 2 3 4 5
衣類&流行	0 1 2 3 4 5
性別	0 1 2 3 4 5
表情	0 1 2 3 4 5
意見&アイデア	0 1 2 3 4 5
皮膚の色	0 1 2 3 4 5
髪の毛の色	0 1 2 3 4 5

15. 自分と見た目が異なる人を見た時、どれくらいの頻度でその人と話しますか？

- いつでも話す
- 大抵話す
- 時々話す
- めったに話さない
- 全く話さない

16. 自分と見た目が異なる人を見た時、どれくらいの頻度でその人を避けようとしていますか？

- いつでも避けようとする
- 大抵避けようとする
- 時々避けようとする
- めったに避けようとししない
- 全く避けようとししない

17. 自分と見た目が異なる人が近づいてきた時、どれくらいの頻度でその人を受け入れますか？

- いつでも受け入れようとする
- 大抵受け入れようとする
- 時々受け入れようとする
- めったに受け入れようとししない
- 全く受け入れようとししない

18. 自分と見た目が異なる人が近づいてきた時、どれくらいの頻度でその人を避けますか？

- いつでも避ける
- 大抵避ける
- 時々避ける
- めったに避けようとししない
- 全く避けようとししない

19. あなたが他人に違いを見出した時、あなたの最初の反応は何ですか？

(複数の回答を選択することができます)

- その人を避ける、その人から遠ざかる、その人と話をしてみる、その人から距離を置く、その人を無視する、その人について他の人から情報を得る

20. あなたが採用担当者である場合、あなたと異なる信条、セクシュアリティ、民族性、価値観などを持つ人を雇うと思いますか？

- とてもそう思う
- そう思う

どちらでもない
そう思わない
全くそう思わない

21. 差し支えがなければ、質問19の回答の理由を記入して下さい。
22. 日本で住む異なる女性について何か意見があれば教えて下さい。